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**THE CHALLENGES OF POLITICAL INTEGRATION IN AFRICA: A CASE STUDY
OF EAST AFRICAN COMMUNITY (EAC)**

BY

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this research project is my original work and that it has not been submitted for any degree qualification in this or any other university or institution for academic credit.

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Date.....18/12/2008

DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to all my family members

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I acknowledge my family for being beside me all the way. Your support and encouragement has been instrumental in putting this work together. My acknowledgements also go to my close friends who encouraged me to enrol for the course and give it my best. I also acknowledge the able guidance by my supervisor Prof: J. D. O. Nyunya throughout the research period.

ABSTRACT

There exist already some explanations for the failure of the integration policy in Africa. Lack of political will in the member countries that is necessary to see integration succeed, expressed in the chronic non-observance of commitments undertaken within the respective agreements and in the insufficient use of the instruments set up by these agreements. There are some other more technical explanations for the failure of regional integration schemes in Africa. It is argued for example that "in some cases the existing mechanism is too loosely defined or insufficiently equipped with human, material, and financial resources to do its work" (Economic Commission for Africa 2002).

This study sought to establish the major challenges of political integration in Africa. The research was an exploratory research design carried out as a case study of East African Community (EAC). The population of the study consisted of all states in East African Community while the sample entailed two groups of respondents. The first group consisted of five educational attachees each from each of the five states' embassies. The other group comprised of ten foreigners who gave their view on political integration in East African Communities. . Primary data was collected through a questionnaire which contained both open-ended and closed-end questions and personal interviews with the various targeted respondents. A content analysis was used to analyse the responses.

From the study, leadership of the constituent states is the most important factor which can lead to disintegration of the various states under integration. As part of the recommendation from the researcher, the achievement of a political federation requires a high level of political commitment from the leaders of the states. This would start with the establishment of institutions that would facilitate consensual decision making and also institutions that would ensure equitable distribution of gains and losses of integration.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

1.1.1 The Drive for Regional Integration

One of the striking facts of African political and economical life is the high propensity of the continent towards integration. The drive towards political and economic integration in Africa began in 1963 with the establishment of the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The purposes of the organization were primarily political. The objectives stated in the Article II of the Charter included the promotion of unity, intensifying co-operation, defense of territorial integrity and eradication of all forms of colonialism. The OAU entered the realm of economic integration in 1991 with the signing of the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC) by the OAU Heads of State and Government. The way for this treaty was prepared by the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos, both of 1980. While the Lagos Plan described in detail how Africa would achieve development and contained a long list of measures for this purpose, the Final Act envisaged the establishment of an African Economic Community by the year 2000 and the necessary steps to this effect. The AEC treaty was ratified in May 1994. The AEC envisages an economically integrated area covering whole Africa. The mean to realize this objective is to gear the activities of all regional economic communities to this purpose.

An example of a mainly politically inspired integration project is the creation in 1963 of the Organization of African Unity. Its primary goal was to promote unity and solidarity among African countries. Other objectives included improving the general living standards in Africa, defending the territorial integrity and independence of African states, and promoting international co-operation.

The organization was established against the backdrop of decolonization, while there were still a number of countries under colonial rule. The key concern of the organization was to free the African continent of the colonial yoke. Thus, the emphasis of the Organization of African Unity

was rather on political than on economic issues. The Ghanaian president and founding father of the OAU, Kwame Nkrumah was convinced that the problems of Africa's economic development could only be solved when the continent was totally liberated and when the African states were politically united in a socialist directed All-African Union Government. Thus, political solutions had to be found before economic issues could be solved. He stated in 1963 that: "African Unity is a political kingdom, which can be achieved by political means. The social and economic development of Africa will come only within the political kingdom, and not the other way around." Already at that time he envisioned the creation of an African Parliament to shore up the process of continental integration. However, the reluctance of the member states to yield some degree of sovereignty in policy making for collective interests hampered the institutional development of the organization.

According to the East African Community Treaty, the EAC intends to achieve a political federation starting with a common market and a monetary union. Therefore at the moment, the cooperation between the three East African countries can be categorized as being in a state of becoming, which in the long run is aimed at achieving a political federation (Nzongola-Ntalaja, G, 2001). In other words, the integration process in East Africa is to be achieved incrementally. The argument has always been whether the logical conclusion of any integration process is political or economic unity. The jury is still out.

1.1.2 The East African Community (EAC)

The East African region covers an area of 1.8 million square kilometres with a combined population of about 100 million (July 2005 est.) and has significant natural resources. Kenya and Tanzania have had relatively peaceful histories since achieving independence, in contrast to the wars and civil strife that occurred in Rwanda, Burundi, and Uganda. Today East Africa seeks to maintain stability and prosperity in the midst of ongoing conflicts in the D.R. Congo, the Horn of Africa, and southern Sudan. The two most prevalent languages of East Africa are Swahili and English.

In a major development in East Africa, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania decided to join hands and form a trade bloc called East African Community (EAC) in 2001. The new trade bloc aims to work towards economic policies that are pro-market, pro-private sector and pro-liberalization.

By pooling in their resources and promoting free trade within the region, the East African Community aims to emerge as a leading trade entity in East Africa. In a simple ceremony held in Arusha, Tanzania, Kenya's former President Daniel arap Moi, Uganda's Yoweri Museveni and Tanzania's Benjamin Mkapa, formalized the EAC treaty to pave way for an economic and, ultimately, political union of the three countries.

The process of integration of East Africa can clearly be divided into four periods. The present attempt that began in 1984 can be said to be the fourth. The other three periods covered the years 1894-1947, 1948-1966, and 1967-1977. As we have already said, the British inadvertently set in motion the integration process of the region when they decided to construct the Uganda railway from Mombasa, Kenya in 1894.

The construction work actually began in 1895. Later on, they began promoting efforts to advance a more unified administrative control over their East African territories by establishing the Court of Appeal for East Africa in 1902, a Postal Union in 1911, a Customs Union in 1917, and the East African Currency Board in 1920 (Ojo et al. 1985:157). Tanganyika which became a British Mandate after the First World War, and which later merged with Zanzibar to become Tanzania was gradually absorbed into these institutions by 1963.

On political matters, the East African Community (EAC) is an intergovernmental organization with plans to form a country called East African Federation with one President by 2010 ruling over what are now the countries of Tanzania, Kenya, Uganda, Burundi and Rwanda. Currently, members of EAC are Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Burundi, and Rwanda. While the general publics in Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi are largely in favour of the East African Federation, informal polls in Tanzania indicate that an overwhelming majority (80%) of the population do not have a favorable view of the proposed East African Federation. Tanzania has more land ~~more~~ than Kenya, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi combined and some Tanzanians fear land grabs by the current residents of Rwanda, Burundi, Kenya and Uganda. Land scarcity is a recurring issue in East Africa, particularly in Kenya, where clashes on the Kenyan side of Mount Elgon in 2007 left more than 150 dead and forced at least 60,000 from their homes. The first major step in establishing the East African Federation is customs union in East Africa signed in March 2004 and commenced on 1 January 2005. Under the terms of the treaty, Kenya, the

region's largest exporter, will continue to pay duties on its goods entering the other four countries until 2010, based on a declining scale. A common system of tariffs will apply to goods imported from third-party countries.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In many official documents the unity of Africa as a vision is emphasized as a reason for integration of all countries of the continent. Other reasons, why to integrate, are to boost the transformation and growth of African economies, to unleash industry and business, to become part of the world economy and promote multilateralism and to address common political problems (Economic Commission for Africa, 2002). Enhanced political integration is an essential contribution to development, economic growth and employment, and ultimately the eradication of poverty as well as good governance.

But in spite of constant efforts, Africa is today neither politically nor economically integrated. Integration has not served therefore as a means to growth and industrialization as it was expected. In the absence of any clear progress in the integration progress it is not easy to understand the high number of integration schemes in Africa and the plans for the establishment of the AEC. It is also remarkable that in opposite to other regions the integration of the whole continent should not be the result of a time-consuming process of enlargement but of efforts of a continent-wide organization (OAU, AU, and AEC) to establish working relations with existing regional integration schemes.

There exist already some explanations for the failure of the integration policy in Africa. Adedeji, A (2002) mentions as a reason " that there is a lack of political will in the member countries that is necessary to see integration succeed, expressed in the chronic non-observance of commitments undertaken within the respective agreements and in the insufficient use of the instruments set up by these agreements" There are some other more technical explanations for the failure of regional integration schemes in Africa. It is argued for example that "in some cases the existing mechanism is too loosely defined or insufficiently equipped with human, material, and financial resources to do its work" (Economic Commission for Africa 2002). The result will be the failure of governments to bring about substantial changes in policies, rules and regulations, the unwillingness to subordinate national political interests to long-term regional economic goals

and the absence of monitoring and enforcement mechanisms to adhere to timetables for the realization of the different steps of the integration process.

As one of the major weaknesses of the integration process counts the lack of appropriate funding for regional integration policies and programmes. Contributions barely cover the operating costs and the regional integration organizations are therefore over dependent on external assistance (Economic Commission for Africa, 2002). Another problem is the existence of many other regional and sub regional actors besides regional integration organizations which are formed around narrower sets of activities like transport and energy and notwithstanding pursue integration goals and create coordination problems.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The major objective of this study is to establish the major challenges of political integration in Africa.

Other objectives include:

- a) To find out the benefits accruing from regional integration
- b) Ascertaining the effectiveness of political federalism

1.4 Importance of the Study

1. The findings and recommendations of the study will aid the various states that intend to integrate in formulating a policy guideline that will assist its regional governor as they make crucial decisions on their respective nations.
2. This research project will make a contribution to academic literature, especially in Kenya where very little is known about political integration.

1.5 Research Limitations

- a) Time: Due to time limitation, the research will concentrate on only the education attaches from the various embassies in the country as well as a few foreigners

- b) The researcher will not be able to move to other countries in EAC to gather data. The credibility of the data collected might be challenged since sentiments in one state should not necessarily reflect the sentiments of the other nation
- c) Finance: The cost of acquiring finance to perform the study is expected to be very high.

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CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

Ben Belassa identified five ideal types of integration (Ojo et al. 1985:145). He stated that at the lowest level there is the free trade area in which tariffs and quotas are eliminated among the members of the integrating region. A customs union involves the elimination of tariffs and quotas, and also eliminates discriminatory tariffs by non-member countries, by setting up common external tariffs. The third level of integration involves the establishment of a common market. This entails the elimination of obstacles for the free flow of the factors of production, namely labour and capital. The fourth level is the establishment of an economic community or union, entailing the harmonization of economic policies which may involve the introduction of a common currency. The highest form of integration is a political union where the structures and political institutions which harmonize policies also themselves become harmonized and unified. The integration of East Africa aims at not following Belassa's typology as a straight jacket. Rather, it aims at achieving political federation by first establishing a customs union, and then following with a monetary one.

Political integration refers to a political organization in which two or more states agree to form a union government with central authority, while retaining local autonomy (Ojo et al. 1985:75). At the regional level however, political integration is the call for the coming together of independent nation states to form a federal government (ibid). In regional integration, political federation is a mean between political cooperation and political union. Political cooperation involves mutual policy arrangements among member states aimed at attaining common interests and objectives Adedeji, A (2002). Political cooperation does not necessarily require the surrendering of one's jurisdiction to a central unit. A political union is the ultimate goal of cooperating parties, and entails a shared political jurisdiction in which the parties to the union agree to surrender either all or part of their sovereignty to a central political unit (ibid). In between political co-operation and political union is political federation. Political federation is a union of groups, united by one or more common objectives, but retaining their distinctive group character for other purposes (ibid). Each member state retains its distinctiveness in its own sphere. As a step towards achieving a

political federation, the treaty of the EAC calls upon the partner states to establish a common foreign and security policy.

2.2 Welfare Consequences of Political Integration

The past experience of developing countries with regional integration schemes is not a happy one. The reasons for this can be illuminated with the aid of the simple theory of customs unions. Preferential trade arrangements give rise both to trade creation and trade diversion effects, as well as to transfers between the member countries. The design of regional among developing countries in the past tended to maximize the costs of trade diversion (because of high external tariffs) and also encouraged regressive transfers from poorer to better-off members of such arrangements.

The recent more favorable assessment of regional integration arrangements involving developing countries is based on the following considerations. Regionalism will lead to net trade creation as long as it is coupled with a significant degree of trade liberalization and where emphasis is put on reducing cost-creating trade barriers which simply waste resources. Regional economic integration may be a precondition for, rather than an obstacle to, integrating developing countries into the world economy by minimizing the costs of market fragmentation.

North-South regional integration have been seen as more likely to result in gains to developing countries as compared to South-South regional integration, on the grounds that they minimize trade diversion costs and maximize the gains from policy credibility. Closer examination of these arguments, however, suggests that the assumptions on which they are based may not always stand up. Positive economic outcomes will depend on the deliberate design of these agreements, and cannot simply be assumed.

The growing propensity of regional integration to include aspects of policy integration also poses a challenge for developing countries. Although these aspects are most common in regional integration involving high-income countries, a growing number of North-South agreements now have broad integration objectives. The removal of non-tariff barriers which act to segment markets can be potentially beneficial, but whether this turns out to be the case in practice will depend on the nature of the policy integration. The same set of regulations and standards is not

optimal in all countries; differences in standards may well be justified on efficiency grounds. For example, environmental standards tend to be higher in high-income economies because of the high value placed by the public on environmental improvements in these countries. Lower standards may be appropriate in other countries in order to avoid the diversion of resources away from policies with a greater potential to improve citizen's welfare. Harmonizing standards (upwards) in this situation would impose additional costs on developing countries. The costs to developing countries of harmonizing inappropriate policy regulations may exceed the benefits of encouraging greater market access.

Whatever the ambitions of regional groupings involving developing countries, it is likely that they will need considerable technical assistance support and training. This is particularly the case where developing countries are engaged in parallel series of trade negotiations covering increasingly complex areas of integration at the same time. This is an area where donor assistance can be useful. However, the difficulties of managing and coordinating regional institutions in the context of institutional weakness are exacerbated when countries are members of overlapping and possibly competing regional groupings. This problem appears particularly acute in Sub-Saharan Africa. For SSA countries, choosing a unique and appropriate regional arrangement is likely to be a prerequisite for success in the next period of regionalism.

2.3 Political Integration Paradigm

There are three dimensions on political integration. On the first dimension we distinguish between the basic normative paradigms underlying conceptions of political integration. In the *equality-paradigm* the political community is perceived of as constitutional democracy. Accordingly, immigrant ethnic minorities are here primarily defined as aliens that need to become full citizens. The main political goals associated with this paradigm are emancipation and incorporation. The *community-paradigm* views the political community in the first place as a national community. Immigrants are here perceived of as strangers that have to become nationals and members of the community. With this paradigm one may associate political goals like identity, patriotism and unity.

On the second dimension, we divide both paradigms into a procedural (and 'thin') and a substantial (or 'thick') variant, thus distinguishing four discourses. The discourse that combines

the value of equality with a procedural conception defines political integration as the possession of full and equal civil, social and political rights. This discourse may be associated with the political philosophy of classical liberalism, as it is legitimized by the idea that the role of the state in the realization of equality is limited to equality of opportunities. The substantial variant belongs to the political discourse of the so-called New Left or social liberalism. Here the argument is that equality of opportunities is too limited, and that 'real' equality for immigrant ethnic minorities implies that their interests and views are equally considered and taken into account in the political arena. Participation, access and voice are the central notions here.

With respect to the community paradigm, the difference between the procedural and the substantial variant is based upon different conceptions of the nation. In the procedural variant, the nation is conceived of as a *political* community. Immigrant ethnic minorities may be expected to integrate into this community, but the cultural obligations tied to this membership are limited. Next to acceptance of procedures of a constitutional democracy, identification with the host polity and a sense of patriotism or belonging are usually put forward as important aspects of political integration. In the substantial variant, the nation is defined as a *cultural* and historical community. Accordingly, there are more cultural requirements for immigrants in order to be accepted as a full member of this community. Not only should they accept the procedures and norms of a constitutional democracy, but also the 'core' political values that are thought of as specific for the particular political community. As such, these core political values tend to include the particularities of the more encompassing societal culture. Although in this discourse the policy objective is usually called integration, cultural assimilation is in fact what is expected.

2.4 Typology of Political Integration

These distinctions thus lead to four conceptions of political integration: 1) formal integration, 2) participatory integration, 3) republican integration and 4) communitarian integration. We should stress that these four conceptions are not mutually exclusive. For example, formal integration is off course not in opposition to participatory integration, but rather a necessary precondition. In this respect, we should remind the reader that the purpose of this typology is to answer the question when immigrant ethnic minorities are politically integrated. In that sense, this typology provides us the four major aspects of what may be counted as political integration.

	Equality-paradigm (Structural)	Community-paradigm (Cultural)
Procedural Variant	Formal Integration Equal civil, political and social rights	Republican Integration Identification with host polity
Substantial Variant	Participatory Integration Political Voice	Communitarian Integration Acceptance of 'core' political values

2.5 Individual determinants of political participation

The big question that we ask ourselves is how the individual variation on the political participation score can be explained. For this we run an ordinary least square regression analysis in which the participation score of table 6 is the dependent variable. Independent variables are:

- a) *Gender*: there is quite a discussion on the gender issue in relation to ethnic political participation. The most important argument is that especially Islamic women do not participate in the public domain because they are not allowed to or because the man represents the family affairs in the political domain. For this reason we will include gender as an independent variable in the models analyzed.
- b) *Education*: here the theoretical argument is that mostly educated people participate politically. The political participation of lower educated citizens is said to be lower, since political participation requires a certain amount of citizen skills (debating, reading

newspapers, interest in political affairs) which lower educated people would miss or would find it difficult to learn. The same argument goes for *(un) employment*. Unemployed people are mostly seen as living in a greater social isolation, which makes it more difficult to mobilize them politically.

- c) *Organizational membership*; these variables are included from the social capital perspective. Various memberships were included in the analysis (ranging from idealistic organizations to ethnic organizations. Organizational membership is expected to increase levels of political participation.
- d) *Social activities in the social network of the respondent*: this variable emphasizes a network perspective on participation. Access to the social capital at group level can be provided by individual membership of a voluntary organization. Being member of an organization implies that one has access to the resources of this organization including the contacts with other organizations. However, access can also be provided if one knows somebody who is a member of an organization or who is, in a broader sense, socially active. If I am not a member of an organization but my closest friend is, I can mobilize the social capital of my friend's organization, through my individual link to my friend. The influence of organizational membership on social capital is thus extended. Not only members have access to the social capital at group level but also their friends. The cultural aspects of social capital can also travel through these friendship networks. Citizens who are part of a network of socially active people are expected to show higher levels of social trust and in our case higher levels of political participation.

2.6 Migration's Permanence and Impact

One of the factors leading to an increased focus on integration at the EU level is the belated recognition that migration will be a permanent part of Europe's future. The workers who come to fill skills and labor shortages, refugees, overseas students, and family members who arrive to join immigrant relatives will require a level of incorporation, whether they stay temporarily or permanently. If states are to compete for the "brightest and best," potential migrants must be confident that they will not face discrimination and exclusion. Moreover, EU states cannot afford to neglect the talents of migrants already in the workforce.

Ten new countries will join the EU in 2004, leading to greater mobility of migrants (including of Roma communities). A desire to ensure that their arrival does not provoke tensions, and that the new EU citizens experience equality of opportunity with other EU nationals, also needs to be expressed in policy initiatives.

Public resentment of migrants and fear of difference leads to discrimination, community tensions, and occasional violence. In addition, it has contributed to the rise in support for far-right political parties, which successfully exploit people's fears and resentments. Public anxiety about Muslim minorities (in particular since the September 11 terrorist attacks), subsequent international conflicts, and vocal hostility towards Muslims in Europe all point to the need for a comprehensive integration strategy.

This need has yet to be addressed effectively at the national level. A minority of disillusioned, alienated migrants seeks an alternative sense of identity and purpose by joining fundamentalist groups, thereby further segregating themselves from mainstream society.

2.7 Conceptual and Theoretical Foundation of Regional Integration

The term 'region' can be used to describe any international grouping which is less than global in scope, and which is characterized by some mutual relevance among members. Such mutual relevance can be based upon frequency of contacts and transactions, common aims or attributes, economic complementarity, etc. Used in this sense, the Alliance of Seventy-Seven and the African, Pacific and Caribbean Group (ACP), are both qualified for a description as regional groupings, even though both have membership that span more than one geographical regions.

The experience of the North (especially Europe) at integration process for long concealed the limitations of the traditional approaches to regional integration. On the other hand the evident failure of integration efforts in the South is has provoked a rethinking among integration scholars on a number of highly restrictive assumptions in some of the theories of regional integration. For example, some of the formulations by the dependency theorists on regional integration are now

known to be having limited bearing on the evaluation of gains from integration in the less developed societies. These developments call for in-depth theoretical treatment of the evolution and dynamics of regional integration initiatives in Africa.

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The concept of integration is elusive to define. In a simple sense it means bringing parts or units together to form a whole or creating interdependence. It could also represent a situation in which states become interdependent in whatever aspects of their relations they desire. Nonetheless, integration can be said to exist when units join together in order to satisfy objectives which they cannot meet autonomously. In this way, integration can be a process which hastens up the achievement of certain objectives in the interest of a larger body. Such a process would involve the shifting of loyalties, expectations and political activities towards a new and larger centre whose institutions and processes demand some justification over those of the national states. The extent of such a transfer of loyalties and jurisdiction enjoyed by the new centre would depend on the level and goals of integration schemes as well as the socio economic and political ramifications which the implementations of integrative policies generate within and between the integrating units.

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Another level of classification is possible; the one which considers the specific meanings of 'integration' from the perspectives of different disciplines. Thus there can be political integration, social integration, and economic integration. Although, the concept of economic integration has dominated the discourse on African regional integration yet it is often wrongly conceptualized. For instance, economic integration has often been defined in terms of liberalization or absence of economic discrimination among economic units. This can be misleading especially for the less developed regions. The conception of economic integration as the progressive elimination of trade and tariff discrimination between national borders shows it as a state of affairs and a process. And upon this restrictive notion of regional integration, many self-styled common markets, federations, unions and communities have emerged without promoting regional integration among members or even showing the potentials to do so. In all these, there is unanimity among scholars of economic integration on one question: that integration can be regarded as processes or as a state of affairs reached by that process.

According to Fritz Machlup, the question as to whether that state has to be the terminal point or intermediate point in the process can be taken care of by distinguishing between 'complete' and 'incomplete' integration. The more difficult question, according to the author is: what is that to be integrated; people, geographical areas, markets, production, goods, resources, policies, or what? (Machlup, 1976, 63).

Although 'integration' and 'cooperation' have been used interchangeably by integration scholars, there is a fundamental difference between the two. The difference is both in qualitative and quantitative contexts. While 'cooperation' may be employed to identify loose forms of interstate activity designed to meet some commonly experienced needs, 'integration' refers to a much more formal arrangement that involves some political and economic sacrifices as well as commitments, concessions, processes and political will to redefine participation in the international economy (see Axline, 1977; Ihonvbere, 1981). In this regard regional cooperation may be a phase in the process of regional integration.

In the context of less developed areas, regional integration is an extremely complicated and varied phenomenon which is conditioned by socio-economic and political dynamics different from what obtain in the North. The following questions have therefore become prominent in the discourse about regional integration in Africa: what are the necessary and sufficient conditions for successful unions among states? Should regional political unions be approached gradually and indirectly by functionalist strategy or is federation likely to be more effective? Are customs unions preferable? As many as there are such questions are types of regional integration in Africa whose philosophical guide derives mostly from the experience of the industrial societies. It is to be noted however that each of these forms of integration arrangements has its own regularities, class content, and mechanism of operation.

The concepts of 'self-reliance' and 'south-south cooperation', with the obvious policy corollary of regional integration and cooperation have featured prominently in the analyses of less developed societies, including the African continent. A common assumption especially among dependency theorists is that the potentials of the less developed countries for autonomous development are limited, more by externally infused dependency profiles, rather than internal processes. It thus follows logically that, autocentric development can be realized through

disengagement from the global system. This prescription would result in some dislocation of the national economy since trade, aid and investment relations with the metropolis are expected to be reviewed. The impact of these dislocations is assumed to be too much for individual economies to bear, hence the need for a collective action to “ameliorate the effects of the national disengagement process by replacing North-South vertical relations with South-South horizontal relations among UDCs” (Abutudu, 1988, 38). In this way collective self-reliance represents a strategy against dependence on external resources aimed at promoting the principles of autonomous development. This is the context in which CSR and regional integration among less developed countries is seen in some circles as one and the same. However, the argument about regional economic cooperation as a form of collective-reliance cannot be carried too far. According to Musa Abutudu (1988) , “When the integration process is itself shaped and conditioned by relations of dependence and underdevelopment, what ensures might in fact create a gap between economic integration and CSR” (Ibid, 1988, 38).

* The problem with the prescription of the apologists of CSR is its failure to give serious systemic attention to the relationship between CSR and integration schemes in the less developed regions. The focus of analysis is on relations between systems while its neglects the internal processes of class formation that shape historical developments. For instance, when adopted as framework for analyzing crisis of development in Africa, it becomes more difficult to understand the causes of underdevelopment beyond the effects of Europe’s predatory needs. In terms of policy prescription, self-reliance is to be pursued through the policies of import-substitution, export-substitution, export promotion, favourable balance of payment-strategies that do not in any way address the structural problems of underdevelopment and dependency. In this way what apologists of CSR have suggested, through its advocacy of mere reforms within the global capitalist system expressed in some forms of ‘dependent’ regional integration, amounts to nothing but autarky, and definitely not ‘delinking’ in the form of subordinating external relations to the logic of internal development.

The United Nations Economic Commission of Africa (ECA) and the Organization of African Unity (OAU) exerted greater influence on the evolution of many integration schemes in Africa. Both had advocated for collective self-reliance which unfortunately did not transcend strategies that was only able to promote dependent regionalism in Africa. From the *Lagos Plan of Action*

(LPA) to the *Abuja Treaty* the consensus of African leaders on collective self-reliance is easily revealed. However, the consequence of pursuing collective self-reliance within the framework of ECA/OAU propositions was the proliferation of several inter-governmental organizations, which have the mandate to promote collective self-reliance but could not deliver on the same objective. The existing OAU/ECA economic groupings to date have not demonstrated the unity of processes of economic, political and social integration that is required for the promotion of regional integration. Many have pursued regional integration as strictly 'economic agenda' or 'tariff matter' which leaves out some critical issues such as the commitment of the African peoples (as distinct from the elites) in the various social organizations, the role of the civil society (as distinct from the state), the crucial role of the state in realizing the goals of integration, especially with regard to initiating policies, and implementing them effectively and efficiently, and the direction of social struggles at national, sub-regional, regional, and global levels.

Also, it is important to note the historical context of regional integration in Africa. This consideration must reveal the nature and contact between Africa and imperialism, the consequences of this contact, neo-colonial alignment and re-alignment of social forces, the state, and the structural integration of the continent into metropolitan dominated world capitalist system. It is in this regard that regional integration can be appreciated as an effective political weapon. In addition, the strategy for promoting regional integration must necessarily consider reviving Pan-Africanist consciousness on the continent through which the larger community of African peoples in their different social categories and their social institutions can be mobilize for support.

① Legal structures

The catalogue of problems of regional integration in Africa in spite of the Plan is a matter of concern here. Some cases are worth noting. By 1979, the East African Community (EAC I) had disintegrated. Its reconstituting and revival led to EAC II. The East African Community has its roots in a colonial-era administrative federation of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania. It is worth knowing that regionalism has been a stronger force in East African politics than in many other parts of Africa. Political integration is now among EAC II stated goals and its institutions include a regional high court and parliament. The Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) began as preferential trade area in 1981. It was reorganized in 1994 to provide

phased-in free trade and uniform commercial law. COMESA also sponsors a development bank, banking and insurance institutions, and a court of justice that (unlike many other African regional courts) has actually adjudicated cases.

It the establishment of a rival regional scheme – Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) - was alleged to be the cause of diversions of attention and resources from COMESA. The proposal for a merger plan between PTA and SADCC delayed and was never realized due to politics rather than economic priorities and necessities (see *West Africa* 1-7 March, 1993, p. 333). The South African Development Community (SADC) consists of fourteen Southern African states. Until 1994 when South Africa became a member following its first multi-racial elections, the original ten member states that made up its membership were committed to regional cooperation as a way of reducing their collective and individual dependence on South Africa. However, the major shortcoming of SADC is its confidence in the goodwill of the West as well as its dependence on Euro-American capital. For instance, at the 2002 Annual Summit of SADC, the foreign ministers of member-states still called on the international community to assist with emergency relief in the form of foodstuffs, debt cancellation, and fairer trade and market access for developing countries.

Political ambition
Economic development

The Economic Community of Central African States (CEEAC) was founded in 1981. It was not fully operational until 1998 due to lack of funds. The CEEAC countries are approaching regional integration in phases, beginning with an attempt at promoting free trade among members. They have also created a number of technical and development institutions. The Community of Sahelo-Saharan States (CENSAD), created in 1998, consists of 18 countries in the Maghreb, the Sahel and the horn of Africa. Its membership includes Nigeria and Egypt, and originally there was such thinking that CENSAD is a potential bridge between sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East. However, in practice, the most influential members like Egypt and Nigeria has not shown much interest as active participants.

economic development

Most of the sub-regional integration schemes in Africa accord special prominence to trade liberalization. But achievement in this area is still very modest as foreign capital often reaps the gains arising from liberalizing trade. Andrew Axline reminds us that transnational corporations (TNCs) are capable under dependent regional schemes of serving as mechanism to polarize the

Colonial Markets

effects of the gains within the regions and also to “transfer the benefits out of the region to the metropolitan economy through the channel of their vertical integration with the parent company” (1979, 24). Also S. K. B Asante posits that TNCs “have used the markets created under inter-governmental economic groups..., as a means of promoting the merchandising of their international brands and other products which sometimes result in a negative impact on the socio-development process” (1984).

Economic Integration
Beneficiary of Int

The Economic Community of West Africa (Communate Economique de l' Afrique de l' Oust, CEAO) was established in 1973. It was an exclusively francophone economic grouping made up of Coted'Ivoire, Senegal, Niger, Benin, Burkina Faso, Mali and Maitania. The formation of CEAO was partly French- inspired, borne out of the desire to check Nigeria's growing influence in West Africa, especially the attempt toward organizing a pan-West African economic community of Anglophone and francophone countries. It was not impossible that

Nigeria had political motivation for floating a much broader regional scheme. But it was doubtful if CEAO had prospect for successful regional cooperation in West Africa than all-embracing arrange as ECOWAS represents. Peter Robson indeed argued that CEAO was too small to wield much influence or even to “exercise any considerable bargaining power in the international sphere” (Also, the combined domestic market of CEAO countries was “far too small to permit low-cost production in a large number of industrial activities” (1983, 36). On the other hand, compared to ECOWAS, CEAO was reported to have faired better in the area of trade cooperation (World Bank, 1989, 149). Notwithstanding, the operations of CEAO revealed the dangerous effects of dependence on international finance capital. Most of the large and medium enterprises in the CEAO countries were affiliated to foreign corporations, (Asante, 1984). Also, besides dominating the manufacturing sector in CEAO countries, distribution and other services had witnessed the dominance of foreign-owned enterprises whose activities were hardly restricted in the community (Robson, 1983, 41).

The capacity of the TNCs to ensure inequitable distribution of costs and benefits of interaction among member states of integration scheme is evident in UDEAC. Asante indeed, also observed that transnational linkages exist between foreign capital and local political and economic elites and which are to the detriment of the majority of the people (Asante, 1984).



Problem

Whereas the claim that the "unconstructive" and "disintegrative" activities of the TNCs impede industrial development in the region is valid, nevertheless the main problem derives from the failure of the member states of UDEAC to agree on programmes of planned regional specialization. In this way the TNCs are merely responding opportunistically to this lack of a coherent regional industrialization strategy (Robson, 1983, 36).

Existence of many regional sub-regional activities by each country

Political

The Economic Community of West African State (ECOWAS) is large. Its sixteen member countries include seven countries, which belonged to the CEAO, and three countries, which are in the Mano River Union. In 1994 the Union Economic Monetaire Ouest Africain was formed (UEMOA) to replace CEAO. Modeled as a custom union, ECOWAS Treaty and Protocol provide a plethora of integrative instruments in form of several monetary, fiscal, administrative, institutional and legal measures. However, these integrative instruments are not functioning effectively due largely to some structural constraints. It is sufficient to say that most of ECOWAS problems are traceable to its internal contradictions, structures, rivalries and mutual distrust. These have continued to divert attention from such fundamental issues as ensuring that provisions of the Treaty and protocols are implemented. The proliferation of sub-regional groupings in Africa has not helped matters. Adebayo Adedeji says the spirit of the *Final Act of Lagos* has been permanently breached. His words:

The *raison d' etre* for its stage-by-stage approach beginning with sub regional economic groupings is to nurse the emergence of one major sub regional RIA in each sub region around which all the others will be rationalized. The proliferation of RIAs, which developed in the 1960s, has remained unabated. No doubt, the situation is worse in West Africa than elsewhere but proliferation has crept in everywhere (2002). Until recently when Mauritania quit ECOWAS, there were sixteen member-states of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS).

Political unity & integration

At one stage there were efforts to rationalize some of the groupings in the West African sub-region and have ECOWAS as the only RIA (regional integration arrangement) in West Africa - thus absorbing CEAO and MRU. The new revised treaty makes provision for ECOWAS to become the only economic community organization for West Africa. But this dream is still far from being realized. The CEAO was dissolved in March 1994 and UMOA was immediately

transformed into UEMOA. This has not made the process of regional integration any way easy in West Africa. ECOWAS is not alone in its experience. Proliferation also exists in Central Africa, and Eastern and Southern Africa. In this connection, the influence of external forces cannot be ignored, especially their antagonistic effects on the operations of ECOWAS.

With its intervention Liberia and Sierra Leone, ECOWAS has come to be associated with regional security with testimonies of its new role in Liberia and Sierra Leone. This model is also seen in the Southern Africa. The member states of SADC recently approved a treaty establishing a standby peacekeeping force, and the organization has recorded some success in mediating conflicts in the Comoros and the Democratic Republic of Congo. It should be noted that SADC had a security function that dated back to the apartheid era in South Africa: At the time it was founded in July 1979, apartheid South Africa was a participant in a number of regional conflicts, and the aim of SADC was to provide collective security as well as reducing economic dependence on South Africa. Since the end of the apartheid era, SADC has undergone a radical realignment, with South Africa becoming its *de facto* leader rather than its primary target. As in the case of Nigeria in ECOWAS/ECOMOG, having South Africa on board has contributed to the effectiveness of SADC's security and economic functions.

Security / Peacekeeping

2.8 Possibilities of Centric Integration in Africa

The traditional regional integration approach is based on political motivations (Shams 2002, P.). The specific form this comes to the fore in the African context is the provision of bureaucratic positions. Other motivations like growth and industrialization serve as justifications for creating and adhering to such institutions. To overcome bureaucratization in the international arena in Africa the countries have to reduce the discrepancy between educated persons who seek employment and the number of productive employment possibilities. For this purpose a dynamic development process has to be initiated in Africa. Regional integration should therefore focus at the promotion of the growth process. The remedy is not simply to recommend an end to bureaucratization. The whole approach has to be changed. For those countries in Africa, which are ready to integrate regionally to foster their development process another route is open: that of centric integration.

The strategy of centric integration is based on the dynamic of the World Economy. Presently in terms of per capita income and technology standards the world economy is characterized by a wide development differentiation among the developing countries. Taking these differences in the level of development of these groups of countries as the starting point, a step by step strategy can be developed for the integration of the developing countries into the world economy. For this purpose we assume that in the regional context the countries concerned involve a larger country - measured according to per capita income and population- (central country) and several smaller countries adjoining the larger country. The larger country is also superior to its smaller neighboring countries with regard to production technology and the availability and level of training of human capital. Based on this structure we assume now a hierarchy of products, production of which requires varying factor intensities. A catching-up process among these countries at different levels of development presupposes that the more highly developed country would constantly have to relinquish certain segments of its production lower down the hierarchy in favor of less developed neighboring countries. This would enable the higher developed central country to switch to the next higher segment of the hierarchy of products. This would induce a process of growth and development in all participating countries of the region (Shams 1998 a).

In a regional context the relatively advanced developing country must therefore view its prospects of growth as closely correlated to the growth process in the adjoining smaller, less developed countries, and vice versa. The smaller countries would find in the central country a market with the capacity to absorb such products, which they produce with the aid of direct investment from the central country. At the same time, by raising its technological standards and developing its human capital, the central country will produce new products which it can sell to the smaller countries. For the central country an intra-industrial exchange with the industrialized countries will also occur based on direct investment attracted from those countries, which could promote structural change in the central country (Shams 1998 b). Possibilities for such a process of centric integration necessarily exist in Africa. Without any hesitation three group of countries could be mentioned as qualified to initiate such a

2.9 Conclusion

The slow process of political integration and the lack of progress in realization of further steps of integration, which are announced in official documents, are therefore fully understandable. Bureaucrats are not dynamic personalities to push for realization of new concepts and planning new ones as far as the existing institutional structure serves their self-interest motives properly. National politicians may also not be ready to let the emergence of a group of powerful regionally oriented competitors in a partly or wholly united Africa in the political arena of the continent. Besides these two points it would be quite demanding to find any other reasonable explanation for the fact that a great number of regional and continental institutions are created with the explicit goal of progressing towards higher stages of development, but in reality are developing very slowly or are even stagnating. Demand for bureaucratically positions seems to be a clear explanation for such an institutional pattern.

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The failure of regional integration in Africa is only a failure if measured against the text-book concept of regional integration. It is but a success if measured against the exigency of the placement of a surplus of educated personnel. In political terms it reaches its goal of pacifying the political landscape. But in economic terms it is a waste of resources which could be used somewhere else more efficiently.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

This research was an exploratory research design carried out as a case study of East African Community (EAC). An exploratory study is considered appropriate since the research involves generating new insights on political integration of the EAC.

3.2 Population and Sampling

The population of the study consisted of all states in East African Community. Since the community is made of only five states, namely Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, Rwanda and Burundi, the sample shall entail the embassies of the states that are in Kenya as well as other foreigners in Kenya. The sample entailed two groups of respondents. The first group consisted of five educational attachees each from each of the five states' embassies. The other group comprised of ten foreigners who gave their view on political integration in East African Communities.

3.3 Data Collection

Both primary and secondary data was employed in the study. Primary data was collected through a questionnaire which contained both open-ended and closed-end questions and personal interviews with the various targeted respondents. It was administered on a 'drop and pick later' technique. Secondary data was collected from the magazines in the organizations library and the website. Data collected was both quantitative and qualitative.

3.4 Data Analysis

A content analysis was used to analyse the responses. This method is preferred since the expected responses may be qualitative and due to the fact the study involves generating respondents' feelings on the process. This method does not limit the respondents from giving information hence its suitability for the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA FINDINGS, ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings, analysis, interpretation and presentation of the research. The study sought to investigate the challenges of political integration in Africa where the population of interest entailed the five countries in the East African Community (EAC), which included Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi. The sample size comprised of 10 respondents, five of which were education attaches from each of the five countries while the other ten were foreigners who leaved in Kenya during the time of study.

The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section discusses the demographic information of the respondents while the other section discusses the challenges facing political integration in Africa.

4.2 Findings from the Demographic Information

This section discusses the demographic information of the respondents and in particular the Gender, Respondents country, job description and the number of countries that the respondent had ever stayed. Findings from this section will assist the respondent judge whether the researcher used the relevant respondents for the purpose of this study.

Table 4.1: Respondents' Gender

	Frequency	Percent
Male	9	60.0
Female	6	40.0
Total	15	100.0

Table 4.1 shows the gender of the respondents. According to the table, 60% of all the respondents were males while 40% were female. This implies that majority of foreigners and education attachees in foreign Embassies are male. The reason for this gender imbalance could be the nature of the job that these foreigners and the education attachees are engaged in which could be favouring male than the female. These findings are also illustrated by the pie chart below.

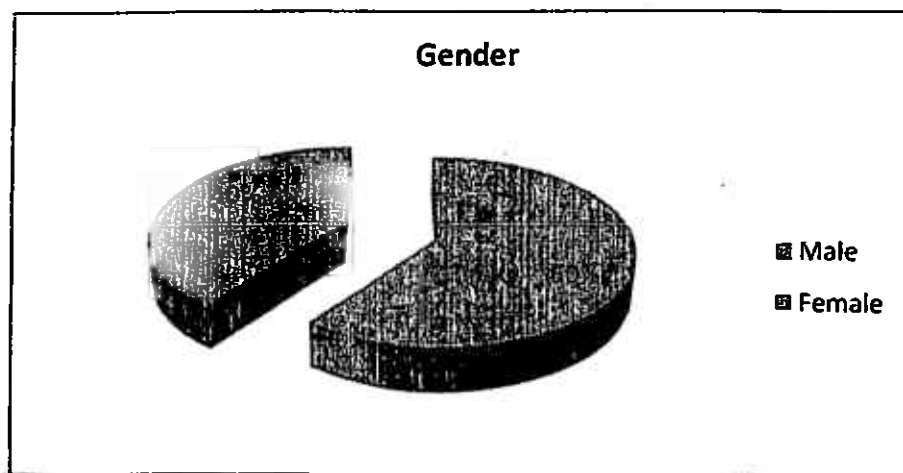


Table 4.2: Job Description

	Frequency	Percent
Education Attaches	5	33.3
Businessperson	6	40.0
Employee	3	20.0
Others	1	6.7
Total	15	100.0

Table 4.2 is an illustration of job description of the respondents. According to the table, 40% of all the respondents were businesspersons, 33.3% being education attachees while 20% were employees in companies/civil servants. Only 6.7% of the respondents were either unemployed or in other other fields apart from the one mentioned herein. This implies that majority of the

respondents were in the country country for business purposes. The composition of job description of the respondents was largely determined by the researcher since the study had predetermined the number of education attacheses to be interviewed. The bar chart below is an illustration of the same information.

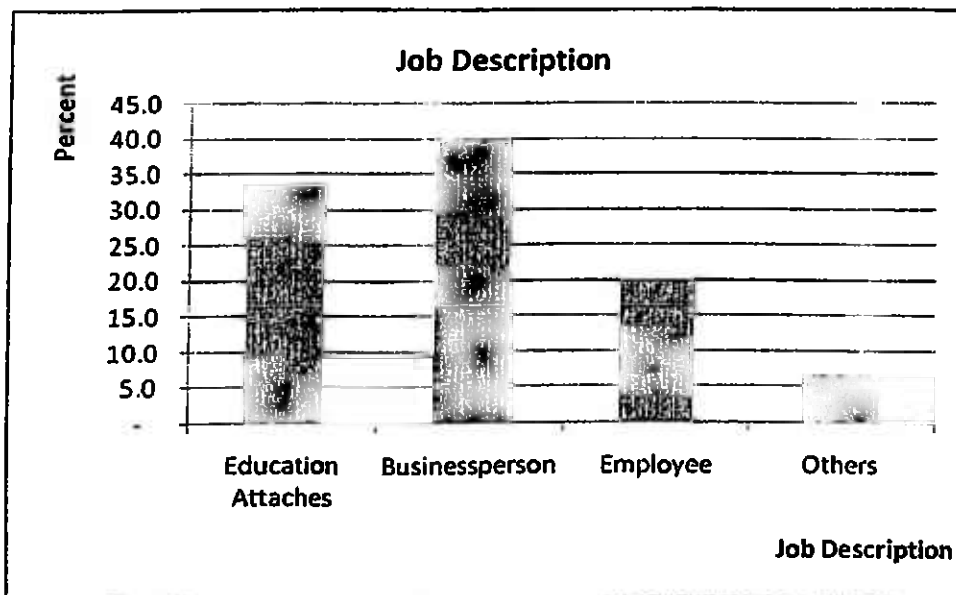
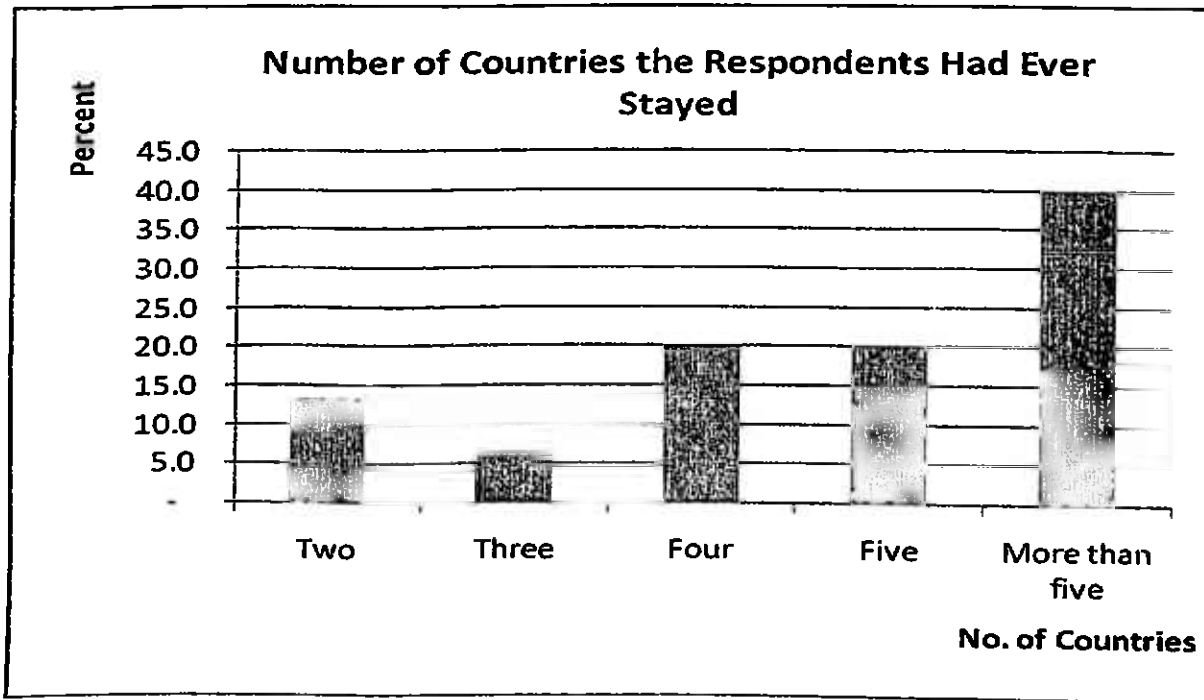


Table 4.3: Number of Countries the Respondents Had Ever Stayed

	Frequency	Percent
Two	2	13.3
Three	1	6.7
Four	3	20.0
Five	3	20.0
More than five	6	40.0
Total	15	100.0

Table 4.3 illustrates the number of countries that the respondents had stayed. From the findings, 40% of the respondents had stayed in more than five countries while another 40% had stayed in

4 – 5 countries. Only 6.7% had been to three countries only. This implies that majority of the respondents had stayed in more than four countries. This also implies that the researcher chose responds who had experienced the political environ of different countries and therefore were in a position of giving the challenges facing political integration in Africa. This is also illustrated by the bar graph below.



4.3 Findings from the Challenges of Political Integration in Africa

Table 4.4: Welfare Consequences of Political Integration

	Frequency	Percent
Very desirable	4	26.7
Desirable	5	33.3
Indifferent	3	20.0
Less Desirable	2	13.3
Undesirable	1	6.7
Total	15	100.0

Table 4.4 illustrates the welfare consequences of political integration. According to the findings 33.3% of the respondents said that the consequence is desirable while 26.7% it was very desirable. On the other hand, only 6.7% felt that the consequences were undesirable. However, 20% of all the respondents were indifferent on whether the welfare consequences of political integration were desirable or undesirable. The findings therefore implies that majority of education attachées and foreigners feel that political integration in Africa has a desirable welfare consequences for its residents. The explanation for these could be free movement of resources from one member country to another. The pie chart below is an illustration of the same information.

Welfare Consequences of Political Integration

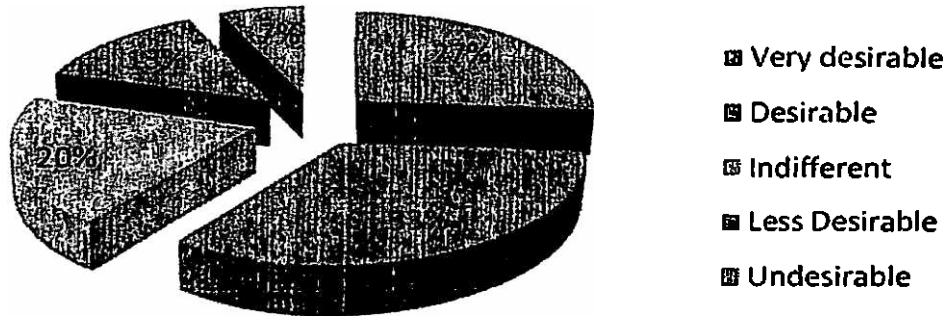


Table 4.5: Level of Benefits for Forms of Regional integration in Africa

	Very Small Extent	Small Extent	Uncertain	Great Extent	Very Great Extent	Mean	Std. Dev.
Political Integration	1	0	3	7	4	3.9	1.0
Economic Integration	0	0	5	5	5	4.0	0.8
Socio-cultural Integration	1	0	6	7	1	3.5	0.9

Table 4.6 above shows the extent to which forms of regional integration are beneficial to the residents of the integrating countries. Findings were represented in the form of a five-point Likert scale where the most beneficial form was awarded 5 points while the least beneficial was awarded only 1 point. Within the continuum are 4 points for those forms beneficial to a great extent, 3 points for uncertain, and 2 points for less beneficial. According to the findings, economic integration had a mean of 4.0 with a standard deviation of 0.8 while economic

integration had a mean of 3.9 and a standard deviation of 1.0. Socio-Cultural form got a mean of 3.5 with a standard deviation of 0.9. This implies that the most beneficial form of regional integration is the economic integration. The major explanation for this could be the direct welfare consequences that economic integration has on the residents of the integrating countries. The columnal bar graph below illustrates the same information.

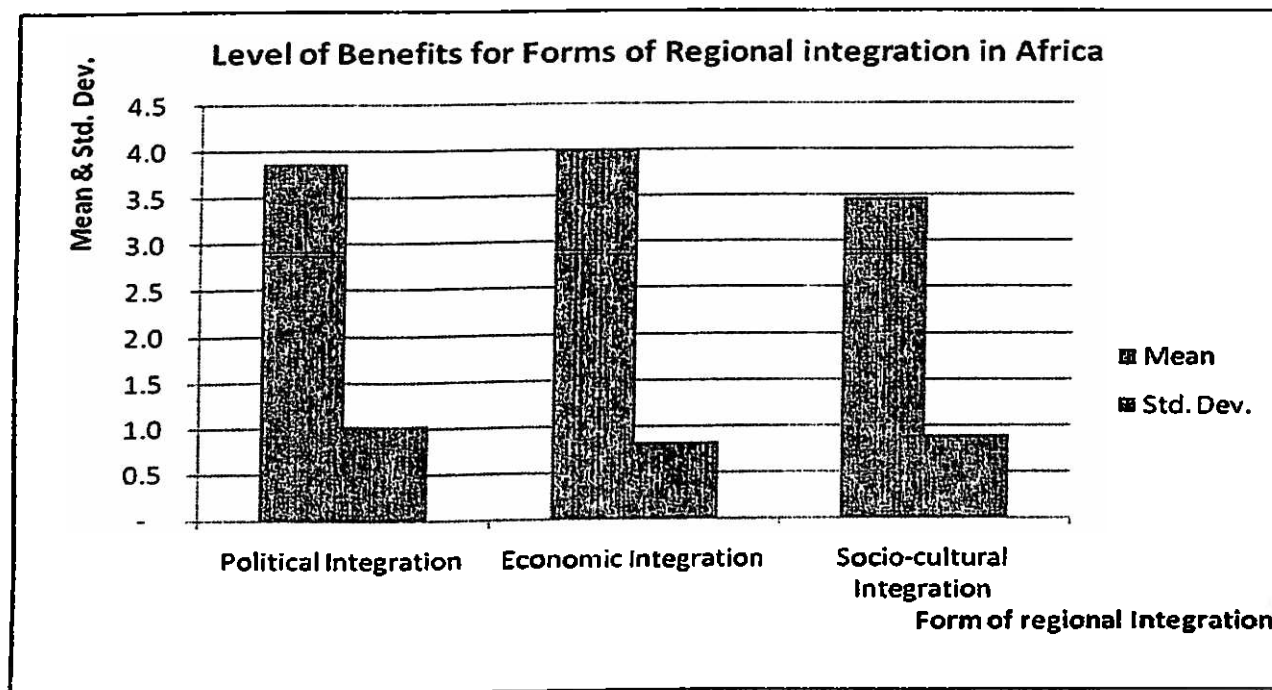


Table 4.6: Political Integration Typology That Can Work Best In Africa

	Frequency	Percent
Formal Integration	4	26.7
Participatory Integration	6	40.0
Republican Integration	3	20.0
Communitarian Integration	2	13.3
Total	15	100.0

Table 4.7 shows the respondents' view on the most important political integration typology. According to the findings, participatory integration was supported by a 40% of all the respondents while formal integration had 26.7% support. At the same time, 20% of all the respondents said that republican integration was the best political integration typology while only 13.3% supported communitarian integration. This implies that participatory integration is the most preferred typology of political integration in Africa. The reason for this could be the fact that this form of typology involves all the leaders of the integrating countries as well as the residents themselves. This information is also illustrated by the pie chart below.

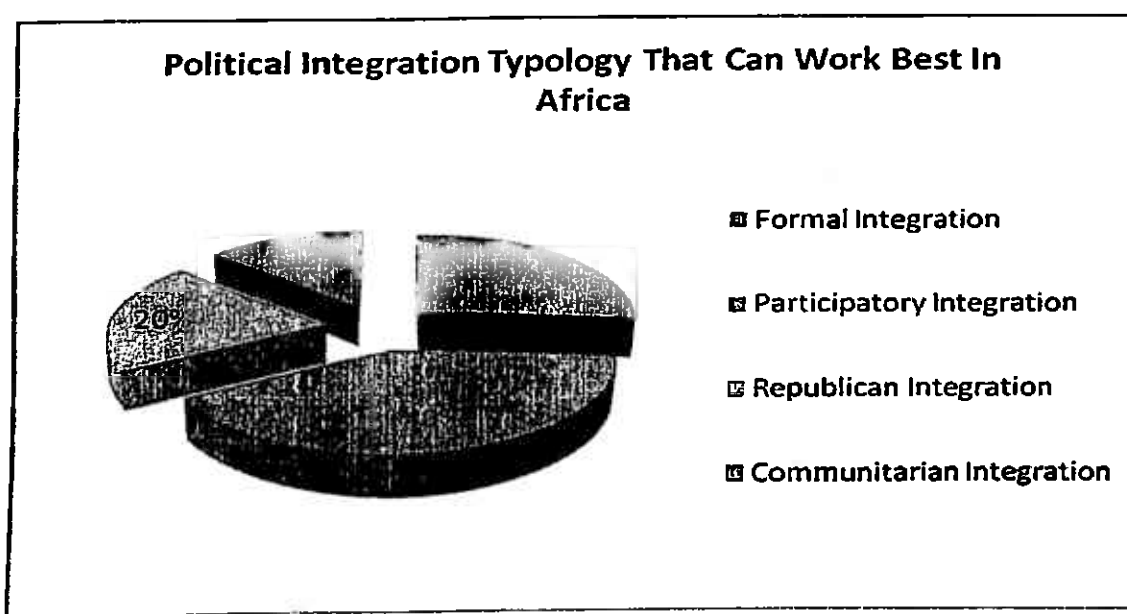


Table 4.7: Challenging Aspects in Implementation of Political Goals in EAC

	Extent	Small Extent	Uncertain	Great Extent	Extent	Mean	Std. Dev.
Economic Development	0	3	3	5	4	3.7	1.1
Languages and Cultures	1	0	7	3	4	3.6	1.1
Legal Structures	0	0	1	2	12	4.7	0.6
Colonial Masters	0	2	6	3	4	3.6	1.0
Political Ambition	1	0	0	10	4	4.1	0.9

Table 4.7 shows the extent to which some aspects challenges the successful implementation of the political goals that East Africa Community has for its respective member state. A 5 – Likert scale was used. According to the table, legal structures had a mean of 4.7 with a standard deviation of 0.6 while political ambition had a mean of 4.1 with a standard deviation of 0.9. Economic aspect had a mean of 3.7 and a standard deviation of 1.1. At the same time language & culture and colonial masters had a mean of 3.6 each but with a standard deviation of 1.1 and 1.0 respectively. This implies that, legal structure as well as political ambition are the most challenging aspects in successful implementation of the political goals that East Africa Community has for its respective member state. This information is illustrated by the bar graph below.

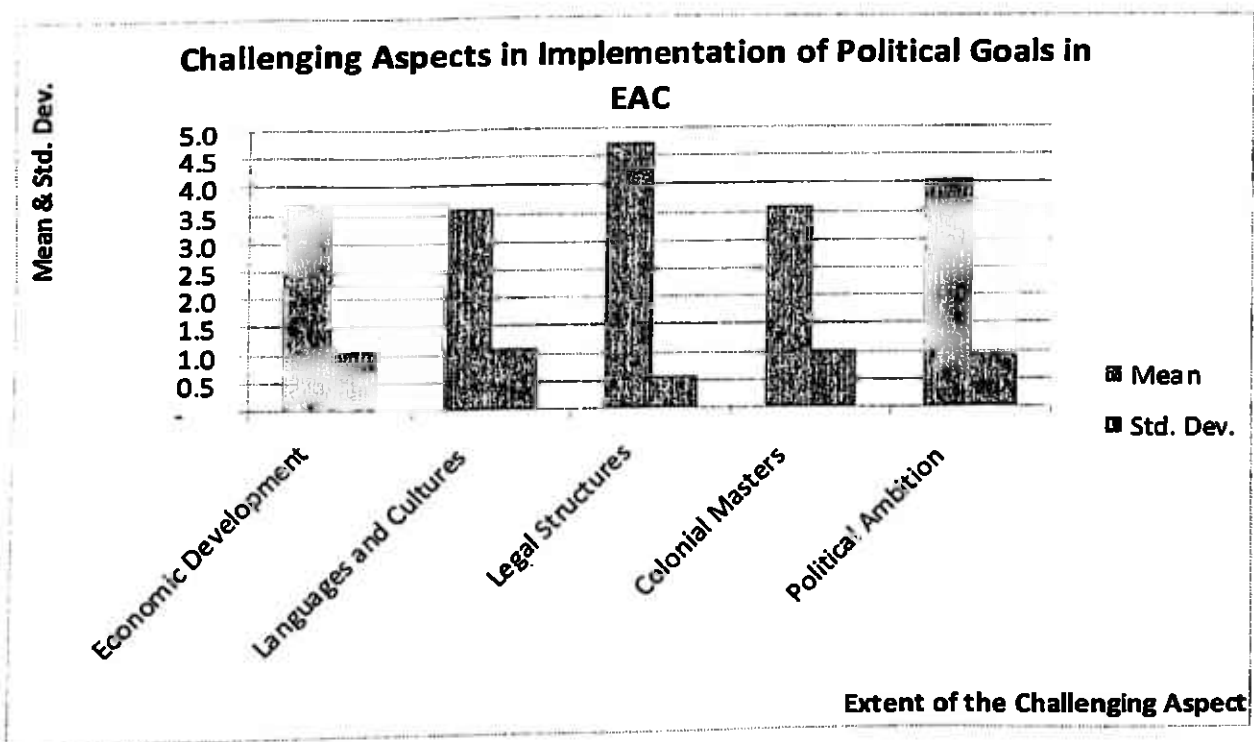


Table 4.8: Individual's Determinants of Political Participation in Integration Blocs

	Frequency	Percent
Education Level	8	53.3
Social background	6	40.0
Gender	1	6.7
Total	15	100.0

Table 4.8 above is an illustration of the individual's determinants of political participation in the integration blocs. From the table, 53.3% of all the respondents mentioned education level while 40% said social background is the main determinant. Only 6.7% of all the respondents claimed that Gender is the main determinant for an individual's political participation in integration blocs. The reason for this could be the power of knowledge which enables one to be informed on political matters especially on integration and therefore one would be in a position to know whether they will participate in the integration blocs or not.

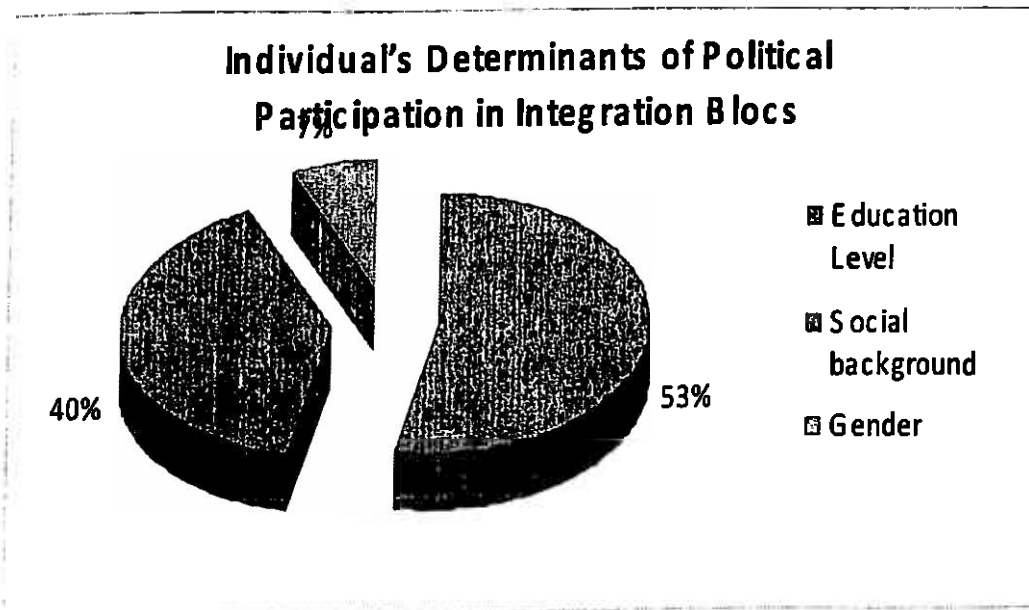
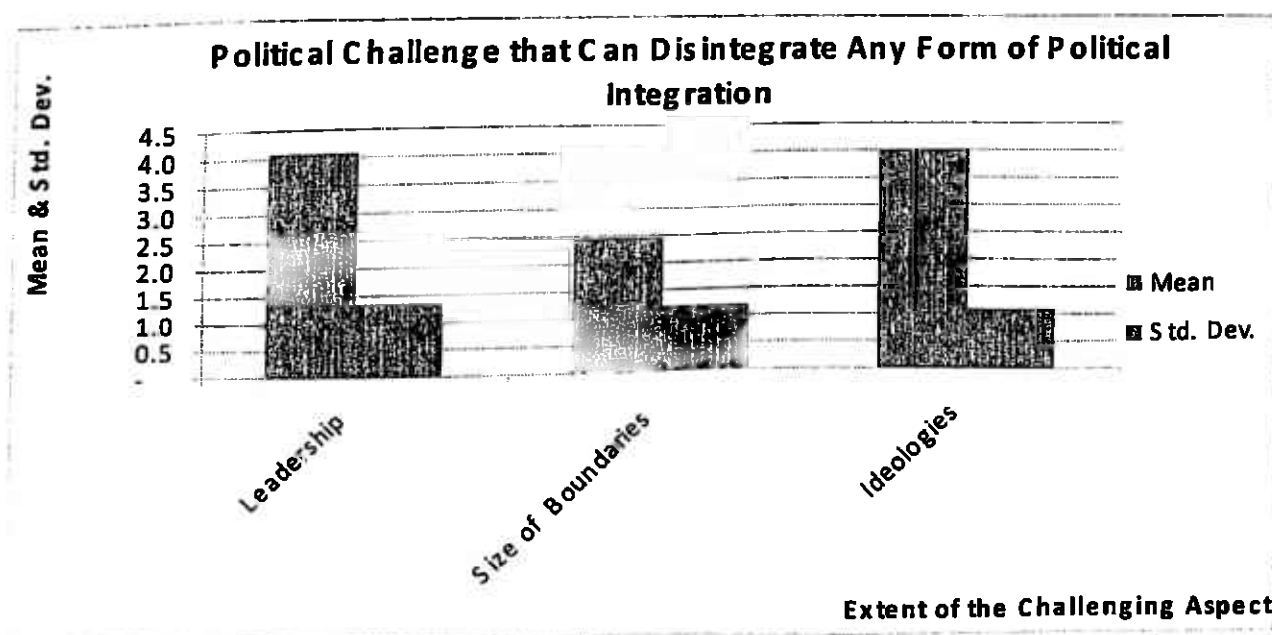


Table 4.9: Political Challenge that Can Disintegrate Any Form of Political Integration

	Very Small Extent	Small Extent	Uncertain	Great Extent	Very Great Extent	Mean	Std. Dev.
Leadership of the constituents states	0	0	3	3	8	4.1	1.3
Size of the various political boundaries	5	2	4	4	0	2.5	1.2
Ideologies of the various states	1	0	3	5	6	4.0	1.1

Table 4.9 above shows the level of political challenges that can disintegrate any form of political ambition. According to the table, leadership of the constituents states had a mean of 4.1 with a standard deviation of 1.3 while ideologies of the various states had a mean of 4.0 and a standard deviation of 1.1. The size of the political boundaries had a mean of 2.5 and a standard deviation of 1.1. This implies that, leadership of the constituent states is the most important factor which can lead to didintegration of the various states under integration. This information is also shown by the bar graph below.



CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of Findings

The researcher sought to investigate the challenges of political integration in Africa where the respondents were the education attachees in the East African Community as well as some foreigners. From the study the researcher found that, 60% of all the respondents were males while 40% were female. At the same time, 40% of all the respondents were businesspersons, 33.3% being education attachees while 20% were employees in companies/civil servants. In addition, 40% of the respondents had stayed in more than five countries while another 40% had stayed in 4 – 5 countries. Only 6.7% had been to three countries only.

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Regarding the welfare consequences of political integration, 33.3% of the respondents said that the consequence is desirable while 26.7% it was very desirable. On the other hand, only 6.7% felt that the consequences were undesirable. However, 20% of all the respondents were indifferent on whether the welfare consequences of political integration were desirable or undesirable. On the extent to which forms of regional integration are beneficial to the residents of the integrating countries, economic integration had a mean of 4.0 with a standard deviation of 0.8 while economic integration had a mean of 3.9 and a standard deviation of 1.0. Socio-Cultural form got a mean of 3.5 with a standard deviation of 0.9. regarding the respondents' view on the most important political integration typology, participatory integration was supported by a 40% of all the respondents while formal integration had 26.7% support. At the same time, 20% of all the respondents said that republican integration was the best political integration typology while only 13.3% supported communitarian integration. On the the individual's determinants of political participation in the integration blocs, 53.3% of all the respondents mentioned education level while 40% said social background is the main determinant. Only 6.7% of all the respondents claimed that Gender is the main determinant for an individual's political participation in integration blocs. The researcher wanted also to know the political challenges that can disintegrate any form of political ambition where the leadership of the constituents states had a mean of 4.1 with a standard deviation of 1.3 while ideologies of the various states had a

mean of 4.0 and a standard deviation of 1.1. The size of the political boundaries had a mean of 2.5 and a standard deviation of 1.1.

5.2 Conclusion

Majority of foreigners and education attachees in Foreign Embassies are male since the nature of the job that these foreigners and the education attachees are engaged in are perceived to be favouring male than the female. The majority of foreigners happen to be businesspersons who had stayed in more than four countries. Majority of education attachees and foreigners feel that political integration in Africa has a desirable welfare consequences for its residents because of free movement of resources from one member country to another.

The most beneficial form of regional integration is the economic integration since direct welfare consequences that economic integration has on the residents of the integrating countries. On the same note, participatory integration is the most preferred typology of political integration in Africa the reason being the fact that this form of typology involves all the leaders of the integrating countries as well as the residents themselves. Finally, leadership of the constituent states is the most important factor which can lead to disintegration of the various states under integration.

According to Oduro, A. (1996) one of the main challenge facing African countries is that their economies are too similar in endowments for trade policy to be used in any meaningful way to promote regional integration. At the same time, Unilateral trade reforms have at times failed because they are usually undertaken in circumstances where trade liberalization is time inconsistent and have often led to trade policy reversals. In addition, shortage of domestic and foreign resources translates into over-dependence on foreign resources, with a result that the multiple regional groupings would, as a result be vying for the resources, with a result that the multiple regional groupings would, as a result be vying for the given number of "foreign partners".

There are other factors that challenge political integration including the fact that many African countries are low income countries and therefore integration between them tends to divergence

rather than convergence in incomes, trade creation, and to attract to tariff evading foreign direct investment.

5.3 Recommendations

The achievement of a political federation requires a high level of political commitment from the three head of states. This would start with the establishment of institutions that would facilitate consensual decision making and also institutions that would ensure equitable distribution of gains and losses of integration.

Therefore, the member countries should continue to manifest themselves in various forms ranging from administrative and legislative measures to infrastructure hindrances. To conform economic disadvantages there should be reviewing the economic policies required to encourage local and foreign investment and to develop production frames and increasing the provocations submitted to private sector in order to increase production and achieving the competitive quality and to rise the capability and to decrease the cost of production, this would be done with achieving concord and conditioning with the rules and criteria of required characteristics and measurements. - Developing the performance of financial foundations (banks- insurance) and other service sectors and encouraging corporation between them to be more capable to face future challenges. Developing the performance of financial market to be able to attract Arabic gulf and foreign investment to participate in the big projects. - Hasten establishing common gulf market and execute the economic Agreements because of its importance for the economy of corporation council states. - Encouraging the use of the national product through mass media, and submitting encouraging provocation to develop production and promotion. _Capabilities for the local service and product. - Concentrate on technical education through establishing specialized institutes for giving national workmanship setting systems and lists for national workman ship and monitor its productivity.

5.4 Suggestion for Further Study

The researcher suggests that a study on the challenges of political integration be carried on officials particular regional blocs for instance the EAC, ECOWAS COMESA and other since they are at hand of the challenges under question. This will assist on getting the actual

information instead of getting views from foreigners who might not be fully informed on the challenges affecting political blocs. At the same time a study on the benefits of regional integration especially in Africa should be carried out to enable the researcher come up with a comprehensive recommendations based on what should be done in order to attain what profits.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: Questionnaire

Section A:

1) Gender: Female [] Male []

2) Name of your Country

.....

3) Job Description

a) Education Attachees []

b) Other (Please Specify)

.....

4) How many countries in Africa have you ever stayed?

a) 2 []

b) 3 []

c) 4 []

d) 5 []

e) More than 5

(Please give the number)

SECTION B

5) What do you think are the welfare consequences of political integration?

- a) Very desirable []
- b) Desirable []
- c) Less desirable []
- d) Undesirable []
- e) Very undesirable []

6) What, according to you, is the most beneficial form of regional integration in Africa?

- a) Political integration []
- b) Economic integration []
- c) Socio-cultural integration []
- d) Others (please specify)

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7) What political integration typology do you think can work best in Africa?

- a) Formal Integration []
- b) Participatory Integration []
- c) Republican Integration []
- d) Communitarian Integration []

8) What is the most challenging aspect that may hinder a successful implementation of the political goals that East Africa Community is having for respective states?

Differences in

- a) Economic Development ✓ []
- b) Languages and Cultures ✓ []
- c) Legal Structures []
- d) Colonial Masters ✓ []
- e) Political Ambition ✓ []
- f) Others (Please specify)

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9) What are the individual's determinants of political participation in the integration blocks?

- a) Education Level []
- b) Social background []

c) Gender

d) Any other (please specify)

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.....

10) According to you what do you think is the major political challenge that can disintegrate any form of political integration?

a) Leadership of the constituents states

b) Size of the various political boundaries

c) Ideologies of the various states

d) Others (please specify)

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